20c APRIL 2, 1951

New Republic

POLITICAL MURDER INCORPORATED

By HELEN FULLER

DEWEY vs NEW YORK

By GUS TYLER

SINCLAIR LEWIS: THE WORK OF A LIFETIME

By C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

HAROLD L. ICKES ON: BRIGHT-YELLOW JOURNALISM

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Spotlight on
MOBILIZATION

A special section in the April 16 issue

The intense dissatisfaction of organized labor with the direction and policies of the mobilization effort has focussed public attention on an important aspect of Washington's failure to provide the men and measures the nation needs.

There are other, but less well-publicized, aspects of this failure which profoundly affect the soundness of our economy and the long-range security of the country.

The *New Republic*, in a special section to appear April 16, will put under the spotlight the men who are directing mobilization, the money they are spending, and the motives they subscribe to. *Spotlight on* MOBILIZATION will contain:

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A review of the problem of big business concentration in World War II, when Charles E. Wilson was the top production authority for the years 1942-1944. It will show how concentration was increased by his reconversion policies and war-plants-disposal program and will expose how far this concentration had advanced by 1950.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE TREASURY is going to end this fiscal year in the black and in a sense this is too bad. Truman predicted a $2.7 billion deficit by June 30, instead of which there will almost certainly be a surplus. Reason: corporate profits have been larger than anybody could have imagined with consequent higher taxes paid, and—more important—we have failed to get all out the defense orders we had hoped for so that federal expenditures are $2 billion less than expected.

Congress is going to take the fact of a "balanced budget" as another rosy argument for postponing the anti-inflation measures which are absolutely necessary. And so the inflation cyclone will come a little closer. This column doesn't know anything duller than to keep repeating that inflation is a serious business. But just the same we have to repeat it. The real threat of inflation is not behind but ahead. For some reason people think inflation is being curbed; but it isn't.

To date inflation has been due largely to inventory buying by stores and to scare buying by consumers. Goods would have been fairly plentiful in most lines except for this artificial psychological demand. Indeed many stores now have such a glut of goods in inventory that they must try after-Easter clearances to wheedle the resistant public into taking them away. But what comes now is the real cyclone. Government defense buying is finally taking hold. The armed-service contract awards have reached the rate of $5 billion a month. There's no end in sight. The top brass in the Wilson-Johnston-DiSalle outfit are really scared. The big strikes are going to start soon if the freeze stays on wages, while prices continue to soar. We attended the United Labor Conference meetings here last week and can report grim determination.

General MacArthur's spectacular truce offer to the Chinese Communists fits in with the arrival of UN forces at the 38th Parallel. The situation is markedly different from last autumn when MacArthur's troops first crossed the parallel. America's allies doubted the wisdom of the first crossing in autumn for two main reasons: the influence of India who believed China might still be conciliated and the fear that the US would get hopelessly involved in China with all its forces, to the weakening of the defense of Europe. The situation is greatly different today. We find hardly any of the doubt now that existed last autumn. The present plan, if China shows no response to the truce advances of MacArthur, is to go on up to the wasp waist of Korea—a line ready-made for defense. This means crossing the 38th Parallel. On the other hand, UN forces this time will not try to go up to the Manchurian border. The chief reason for the switch of opinion in the UN on the move is a growing belief that India was wrong about China and that Peking had imperialist dreams all along; second, America's big defense program shows that instead of weakening Europe the Korean adventure has put the US in a better position to defend Europe. The efforts of the isolationists and China lobby have failed.

Last week a nationally syndicated columnist, with space to fill, reported a growing "coolness" between Dewey and Eisenhower and alleged that Ike had gone off to Europe without even a goodbye to New York's Governor who is backing Ike for the Presidency. All we can say, it isn't so. We can state with finality that, unheralded in the press at the time, Dewey went down to Columbia and canvassed the political and global situation with Ike for a matter of hours. The Dewey-Ike axis is as strong as ever, and it is directed against Taft.

Taft, incidentally, has been speechifying down in the South where he hopes

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to get enough GOP delegates to assure his nomination. We get a little tired of the legendary honesty and integrity of Taft. He's a strong personality, no doubt of it, but he's a politician like the others. On March 22 last year, Taft told an AP and a Baltimore *Sun* correspondent that he had advised McCarthy to keep on making charges: "if one case doesn't work to bring up others." Taft lamely tried to deny this statement later. A second instance: throughout the troops-for-Europe debate Taft repeatedly asserted that he had not been told how many US soldiers it was planned to send abroad; yet actually Gen. Omar Bradley had gone to him and told him of the four-division plan, a fact known in the capital and ultimately printed in the New York *Times* by reliable James Reston. Finally, Taft is still pretending to deplore McCarthy but is using his poison second-hand. At Charlottesville, Virginia, he said: "There is no confidence that Communist influence has been eliminated in strategic government positions."

Notes: Here is how the ex-New York Lieutenant-Governor Hanley has been paid off for not running for Governor in last fall's election deal with Dewey: salary as a special consultant for NY Veterans' Affairs—$16,000, expense allowance, $6,000; state retirement pension, $4,000; total $26,000. As Governor, Hanley would have gotten only $25,000. . . . The army now pays $7.85 for a pair of shoes which cost $4.15 before Korea; so many shoes have been produced at this high price that the Brown Shoe Company of St. Louis is closing 11 of its 25 factories for a week hoping price-resistant civilian demand will catch up. . . . Some pressure is developing on the Federal Communications Commission to investigate whether AM radio chains are conspiring to limit manufacture of competitive FM sets. . . . Truman's speech opening the Latin American Foreign Ministers' Conference here is a glowing reaffirmation of the good neighbor policy. . . . Will the Fulbright Committee investigate Congressmen who put pressure on the Reconstruction Finance Corporation?

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

The following letters are a representative cross-section of a very large mail the *New Republic* has received on its controversy with the *New Statesman.* – THE EDITORS

The New Statesman—Pro and Con

SIR: Kingsley Martin, for all his agility in evasive action, seems to feel more identity of interest with the "great experimenters" in Moscow and Peking than with the capitalist ogres in Washington. Joe Martin, however, declaring that British Socialism and Russian Communism are "insidious Siamese twins," appears to believe that the Truman Administration is an equally insidious triplet. When thinkers of such quality disagree, the plain man is left somewhat confused.

Washington ELMER DAVIS

SIR: . . . Let the *NS&N* be. We need their picture of us. It can be right all too soon. Or must fascism here close you down before you quit the lovely joy of chasing "reds" everywhere. Isn't our opinion industry doing it well enough for you? What the hell are you, anyway, an Un-American Activities Committee or what?

Perth Amboy, N. J. DAVID MANDEL

SIR: The attitude of the *NS&N* to the United States of which Mr. Strout writes (*NR*, March 5) under the heading: "England's Chicago *Tribune*" is of course deplorable. Even more deplorable is it that the same attitude is held by a considerable majority of the people of the world, though Mr. Strout seems oblivious of it.

There is a story of an Irish drill sergeant putting an awkward squad through its motions. "Presint arms!" he said. The order was obeyed. Then: "Hivens, what presint! Just step out here and look at yourselves." If only the American people could do that!

CHARLES HERBERT HUESTIS

Edmonton, Alta.

SIR: Two points need emphasis in the debate which has developed between the *NR* and the *NS&N*. First, the *NS&N* has not created the widespread antagonism toward America, particularly with regard to her handling of the China question, which now prevails in England. This antagonism, arising partly from reason and partly from emotion, would exist without the *NS&N*. That journal simply expresses with brutal frankness the doubts and criticisms which other British journals, more reluctant to offend American feelings, voice in a more tactful and indirect fashion, or not at all.

Second, the *New Statesman* does *not* speak for British liberals. On China, the *NS&N* happens to be in accord with a very large body of British liberal opinion. But this is the first concurrence of the sort that I can remember during five years spent in England. On all other important questions, the tide has set strongly against the *NS&N*.

What the *NS&N* does express is impossible to describe except in terms of personalities, for it is an intensely personal magazine. The experienced reader knows this. . . . He knows that G. D. H. Cole on industrial democracy is good, but on America, merely emotional. He looks for no new ideas from Aylmer Vallance, who never departs from the Communist line in any significant respect, or from Basil Davidson, who (in spite of being called a "British spy" during the Rajk trial) remains an ardent admirer of the Soviet style of totalitarian planning. He finds R. H. S. Crossman a brilliant though variable star and, on most issues that count, a stout proponent of Western unity.

There remains Mr. Martin. Above sin himself, he casts stones both at the United States and at the Soviet Union. But the one seems to be a pleasure, the other a painful duty. Sometimes it seems that no source is too obscure or too dubious to cite against America; for instance, *Montreal-Matin*, associated with the semi-fascist Duplessis Party in Quebec, is quoted in the February 17 issue.

The editors of the *NR* would like Mr. Martin to campaign for the creation of "common institutions through which the (Anglo-American) partnership may be made explicit, equal and lasting." This is hardly necessary, since the *Economist*, a very much more influential journal, already does so. Rather than be outraged by . . . the *NS&N*, liberals should value all the more its favorable references to America which are more common than Mr. Strout concedes. . . .

Washington, D. C. DAVID C. WILLIAMS

SIR: Dick Strout's pettish attack on the *NS&N* strikes me as pretty silly. I'll grant that it has gone to extremes sometimes in attacking US foreign policy, but on balance I certainly think it has performed a valuable function of courageous criticism—in which, frankly, I find the *NR* more and more lacking. . . . I should

(Continued on page 18)

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VOLUME 125, NUMBER 14, ISSUE 1896, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 2, 1951

New Republic

IT'S SERIOUS, MR. PRESIDENT...

PRESIDENT TRUMAN and Defense Mobilizer Charles E. Wilson deny that there is any crisis in the mobilization effort. Thus far, their attitude has been to belittle organized labor's withdrawal from the program and its denunciation of mobilization policies. The President has cheerfully insisted, in effect, that the disagreement between labor and the Administration will blow over. Wilson has privately told Senators that the Wage Stabilization Board collapsed because of the greed of certain labor members of the Board who wanted wages raised more than the WSB would allow.

Business and its spokesmen in the government defense agencies are trying to create the public impression that organized labor has forced an unnecessary crisis in mobilization—that labor since Korea has propelled the nation into a new wage-price spiral and tried to escape from carrying its proper share of the defense load; that labor demands positions of power in the government for prestige alone; that labor has demanded the location of manpower control in the Department of Labor in order to dominate all manpower decisions, including military ones; that, in order to gain these selfish and unwarranted advantages, labor is striking against the government.

Not one of these charges is warranted, and not one of them goes to the central issue. There *is* a crisis in mobilization. It was not created by the withdrawal of the representatives of 15 million organized workers from the defense agencies. The crisis has developed because our government has failed to control inflation and because, as the United Labor Policy Committee justly charges, "the democratic principle of equality of sacrifice has been abandoned."

Inflation is the real villain and labor is not the chief cause of it. A recent staff study made by the Congressional Joint Committee on the Economic Report states that inflation thus far has been the result

(1) of "scare" buying by consumers seeking to be "sitting pretty" individually in a period of general shortage (they borrowed, liquidated savings and scrambled for merchandise);

(2) of anticipatory buying, inventory accumulation and speculation by business firms financed by phenomenal profits and abundant bank credit;

(3) of a price push-up designed to forestall getting stuck with a "low" price ceiling in the event of a freeze;

(4) of rapid acceleration of construction of plant and equipment in order to "beat the gun" on materials controls and allocations;

(5) of increases in materials costs and frenzied bidding for scarce resources and manpower; and, finally,

(6) of investment shifts by individual and institutional investors from liquid assets and fixed income securities into physical goods and equities.

Note that the Joint Economic Committee attributes no responsibility for the recent price inflation to labor insistence on higher wages. What the Joint Committee study says is that higher prices have resulted from the actions taken by consumers and businessmen generally to protect themselves from higher prices. To be complete, the analysis should also have assigned a share of the blame to: the impossible stabilization legislation enacted by the Congress; Congressional delays in levying the proper taxes; failure of the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board to co-operate to curb credit expansion; failure of the Administration to face up to the necessity for firm retail food prices; and unnecessary delays in setting up the mobilization control agencies. The accusing finger may be vaguely pointed at the selfish nature of human beings generally, or more sharply at the farm bloc, the Congress, the President, Secretary of the Treasury Snyder, the corporations, the speculators and Mobilizers Wilson and Johnston. But to charge that labor is responsible for higher prices since Korea is to contradict the facts.

Between June, 1950, and January, 1951, average hourly earnings in manufacturing industries increased 6.7 percent. At the same time, average wholesale prices for semi-manufactured goods increased 24.7 percent and average prices for manufactured goods increased 12.7 percent. Since labor costs represent only a fraction of total manufacturing costs, labor could not be responsible for more than two or three percent of the rise in manufacturing prices since Korea. Yet here is what has happened in a few specific industries: textile wages increased nine percent, textile prices 30 percent; chemical wages increased 5.4 percent, chemical prices 17.7 per-

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cent; pulp and paper wages increased 6.9 percent, prices 26.3 percent. Obviously, wage increases since Korea do not account for, and did not precede the price increases which have engulfed the economy.

The charge that organized labor is seeking, through a too-flexible wage formula, to escape from carrying its proper share of the defense load is similarly untrue. There has been widespread misunderstanding of the fight over the so-called "catch-up formula" within the Wage Stabilization Board. The difference of opinion did not revolve so much around the question of whether wage increases of eight, 10 or 12 percent should be allowed for the period from January, 1950, to January, 1951, as it did to the *rigidity* with which whatever formula was adopted should be applied. A 10-percent formula for wage increases would just have covered the nine-percent increase in the cost of living last year, and would thus at best permit labor to maintain the buying power of its hourly wage, and that *only* if gains in pensions, health and welfare funds and other "fringe" benefits were not counted as part of the 10 percent. Mr. Johnston and Mr. DiSalle admitted expecting further increases of five to 10 percent in the cost of living by next June. Labor, therefore, demanded, together with the "catch-up formula," assurance that rigid wage controls would not punish the nation's workers for the government's anticipated failure to control living costs effectively.

Organized labor has not sought to *improve* its position relative to that of other economic groups during a time which demands economic sacrifices from all. Its position has only been that such sacrifices as labor is called upon to make must be fairly imposed through appropriate tax, credit and saving policies, and not through inflation. The inequality of sacrifice against which labor is protesting springs from the failure of those policies. The record of how various economic groups have fared since Korea documents labor's charge:

From June, 1950, to January, 1951, the average hourly earnings in manufacturing rose 6.7 percent. This increase in pay was exactly matched by a rise of 6.7 percent in the average consumer's price index. Factory workers thus enjoyed no increase in buying power, despite increased productivity last year. Higher tax deductions actually left them with less real spendable earnings for each hour's work.

Farmers did somewhat better. The parity ratio—the ratio of prices received to prices paid by farmers—rose from 97 to 110, an improvement of 13 percent.

Business's showing is far different. Corporate profits increased 64 percent between the first and the fourth quarters of 1950.

Is this experience of the past six to eight months to be but a prologue to even worse inequities in the period ahead? Present policies threaten continued, substantial increases in prices; deterioration of the quality of products; disappearance of low-priced items from the stores; continued profiteering by commodity speculators; unenforceable price ceilings. There is no assurance yet that wage policies will provide equitable adjustments for future increases in the cost of living or for substandard wages now in effect. There is no indication that we intend to stabilize profits, dividends, interest or fees, even though these are potentially as inflationary as wages. Tax changes presently recommended by the President—a flat four-percent increase in all personal income taxes and substantial increases in excise taxes on many essentials of mass consumption—would aggravate still further the already disproportionate share of the total tax load born by the lower-income groups.

It is to force basic changes in the crucial policies that organized labor has resolved to fight. The meetings of the CIO, the AFL, the Machinists, and the Railway representatives from all over the country held in Washington on March 20-21 are only preliminary to a nationwide campaign for revision of mobilization policies. This will be not a labor campaign for labor but a people's campaign for the country. To succeed, it must convince the President that there *is* a mobilization crisis and that, to resolve it, prices will have to be effectively stabilized, even if subsidies are required to stop them from rising; rents must continue to be controlled; special privileges and loopholes must be eliminated from existing tax laws and excise taxes limited to luxury goods; wage stabilization must accord fair treatment to wage earners, allowing for increases in living costs, inequities and improved productivity; solutions to civilian manpower problems must be sought by voluntary means using existing machinery; all major groups in the economy must participate in the management of the mobilization program to a degree appropriate to their contribution to it.

A special Presidential message to Congress embodying these recommendations and requesting revision of the Defense Production Act in line with them is immediately called for.

The present crisis in mobilization is far more than a threat to the achievement of our immediate production goals. A nation which fights for democracy on the international front but which does not know how to protect and extend democracy on the home front during such a fight is subject to frustration and failure in its international objectives. Labor has spotlighted the contradictions in our present national effort. There is still time for the President and the Congress to learn and to act.

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THE WEEK

LABOR UNITES IN BATTLE

Spurred by their ruckus with the mobilization program, labor leaders are closing ranks in a manner unprecedented in the last 14 years. In its common conflict, labor is speaking with one powerful voice through the United Labor Policy Committee, which represents all unions except John L. Lewis' and the Left-Wing expellees from the CIO. Last week in Washington the ULPC staged a convention unique in labor's annals—a joint meeting of the AFL and the CIO stewards, in which William Green and Philip Murray shared a platform to expound the need for united labor action and leadership.

The Washington meeting was "the pause that refreshes" in labor's all-out drive to sell its viewpoint to the public, which has lately heard leaders take to the air night after night to harangue against big-business domination of the defense machinery. During two full days in the capital, 700 delegates from the AFL and the CIO locals across the country were given the arguments and the facts to back up labor's story at the crossroads. As good citizens they also took time off to see their Congressmen.

As the union representatives milled around the Statler Hotel lobby, they ran into old friends and also into old enemies from many bitter organizational fights. But the new common cause engendered a harmony in which even the hardened separatists were swept up. In the AFL caucus which preceded the joint meeting, two old-time opponents of merger, the Electricians' Dan Tracy and the Boilermakers' Chuck McGowan, surprised their colleagues by their strong support for unity moves.

These developments convinced observers that labor has decided to wage a long-term campaign to better its national political position, with specific stabilization demands losing import each day. While labor pressed its demand for an expanded Wage Stabilization Board, Murray emphasized that "wage policy is just one aspect of the mobilization program." The larger aim is now essentially a revitalization of the Fair Deal, with labor spokesmen in positions influential in deciding who sacrifices what. To 15 million union members—and to many others if labor's education drive is successful—such a program may constitute a political challenge big enough to all but wipe out historical jealousies and spites.

RIEVE FACES TEXTILE REVOLT

Intra-union rivalry has broken out into open warfare between factions of the CIO Textile Workers Union, headed respectively by President Emil Rieve and Executive Vice-President George Baldanzi. Baldanzi's followers claim that theirs is a fight for union democracy against the dictatorial methods of Rieve, who has headed the union since its founding in 1938.

The feud has been going on for years. When Baldanzi was named to head the CIO's Southern Organizing Drive in 1948, Rieve promptly pulled most textile organizers out of the Drive. At the April, 1950, convention in Boston, Rieve pitted the entire weight of his organization against Baldanzi's re-election. Backed by 17 of 20 vice-presidents, he supported an opposition candidate for Baldanzi's post but was roundly defeated by the delegates, who re-elected Baldanzi by a handy majority.

The conflict centers almost entirely around Rieve's high-handed way of running the 400,000-member union. Complaints against his administration range from his depletion of TWU's excellent educational and research departments to his open manipulation of paid organizers for his political purposes. Unfortunately the present rift finds the union out on strike in wool and textile mills. But it is expected that Baldanzi will eventually challenge Rieve for the top job—a development in the best tradition of democratic trade unionism.

ADDING UP DIVIDENDS

Prosperous commuters turning to the financial pages last Thursday morning read happy news. Another group of corporations had announced whopping dividends. Of the 13 listed that day, no less than 11 announced sending out bigger checks than the previous year. The American Machine Company led with a 400-percent boost in dividends. If a stockholder held shares in all companies on the typical list published that day, the winners as well as the losers, he was getting a good 23-percent bonus over the previous year.

This, of course, does not count the increase in the market value of his holdings, and any profits he made from their sale which are taxable at only 25 percent under the capital-gains provision. The market dropped a few points last week, but it won't be able to ignore the checks very long.

IRAN'S OIL EXPLOSION

In his first week as Foreign Secretary, Herbert Morrison met with trouble in the area that caused his predecessor, Ernest Bevin, his worst headache—the Middle East. Bevin burned his fingers on Palestine; Morrison has been thrown into the middle of a highly volatile situation in Iran, a country more important to Britain than the embattled Holy Land ever was. For in Iran is located Britain's most valuable business enterprise, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, and Iran is the potential opening for Russian infiltration into neighboring oil-rich lands.

Its uneasy friendship with the West abruptly altered by the assassination of Premier Ali Razmara, Iran is now floundering in a frenzy of super-nationalism. The extremist fringe responsible for Razmara's death has taken the lead in exploiting the country's dissatisfaction with foreign interference. And although the new premier, Hussein Ala, a former ambassador to the US, is decidedly pro-Western, he is elderly and in no posi-

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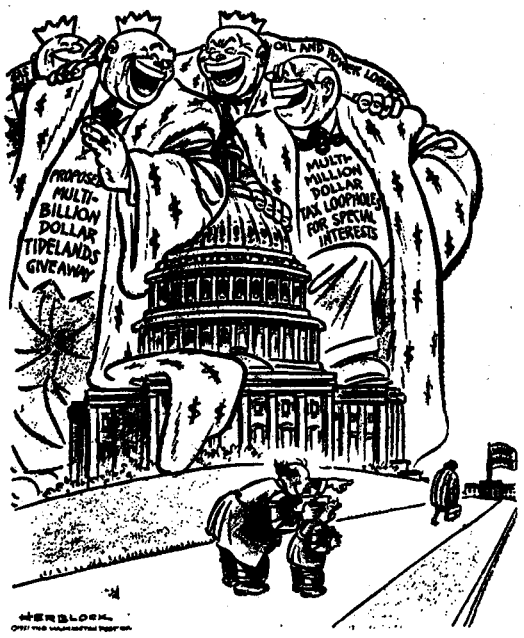
tion to control the country's quarreling political factions.

When the Iranian Parliament voted unanimously to nationalize Anglo-Iranian, allowing only a scant two months for the change-over period, London protested vigorously that the company's agreement, which extends to 1993, cannot be terminated by Iran. Britain's stake in the dispute involves not only its 53-percent government ownership in a company which last year made profits of $150 million, mostly in dollars, but also the maintenance of what remains of British economic and political influence in the Near East.

Iran is economically important as the source of 240 million barrels of oil annually—close to seven percent of world production. Iran's example will encourage discontent with present oil leases throughout the Middle East. Iraqi newspapers have already called for that country to follow Iran's lead. The Egyptian reaction was to bolster extremists who want to nationalize the Suez Canal and abrogate the treaty which allows Britain to maintain troops in the Canal Zone.

In Teheran, meanwhile, Premier Ala is trying to form a government amid continued terrorism by Fadayan Islam, the group that assassinated Razmara. Ala's first act was to put Teheran under two months' martial law, in an effort to control the situation. But his government does not even have money for its soldiers and civil servants, who have gone unpaid for three weeks.

American efforts to stabilize the situation have been inconspicuous—even after *Pravda* charged that Razmara had been done in by US agents. But Assistant Secretary of State George McGhee has been in Teheran "conferring with officials." The US is playing for time—trying to avoid a British-Iranian feud, willing to accept nationalization only as a last resort. To help keep relations from worsening, the State Department rushed over Penn State's championship soccer team for a tour of Iranian cities.


OIL AND POWER LOBBIES
PROPOSED MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR TIDELANDS GIVEAWAY
MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR TAX LOOPHOLES FOR SPECIAL INTERESTS
HERBLOCK

HERBLOCK IN THE WASHINGTON POST

Mink is for peasants

EUROPE'S NEW COMMUNITY

The vital core of West European industrial strength—the coal mines and steel factories of France, Germany, Luxembourg, Holland and Italy—will soon become internationalized. They will be controlled by a new sovereign European power, the European Coal and Steel Community, a supra-national government which will exercise supreme authority over every factory and mine in the two basic industries. The Community, conceived from Robert Schuman's 200-word memorandum, will have its own executive, legislative and judicial organs, but besides these trappings it will have power to override individual governments in their common interest.

The basic purpose of the Community will be to expose the cartel-encrusted iron and steel industries to free and open competition. Authority control will be exercised mainly to prevent nations from erecting uneconomic barriers. It will have power to levy fines up to twice the amount involved in an illegal transaction and to veto all mergers and contracts.

Naturally, the transition from the cartel stage to the creation of a joint competitive market will not take place overnight. An imminent Foreign Ministers' meeting has yet to settle several "political" problems: how long the separate parliaments will have in which to ratify the agreement; the makeup of the Authority; the status of the Saar territory and other representational problems. Several of the high-cost industries, especially Belgian and Italian coal, are to be allowed a five-year adjustment period, during which they will receive gradually declining subsidies from a common pool. The treaty also stipulates that French coal production must not be cut by more than one million tons annually. But experts say that the agreement's "escape" clauses are minimal and that the basic motive among negotiators was the sincere belief that a common competitive market will ultimately benefit all of the participating economies.

That is not to say that opposition to the plan will not be acute. After their initial expectation that the Community would simply perpetuate existing arrangements was disappointed, the industrial barons of all countries have been fighting the plan with increasing intensity. Heirs of the Comité des Forges are exerting heavy pressure on French Right-Wing parties. The Ruhr industrialists, disappointed at the limited powers granted to trade associations, have sharply reversed their early support which arose out of the expectation of a surplus market. But opposition on the Left is also vigorous. The most serious trouble may come from the German Social Democrats who believe that the Community will strengthen the existing industrial powers and prevent nationalization which they advocate. If Kurt Schumacher chooses to play up distrust of the French, vital German ratification may be frustrated by an alliance of the Left with the extreme Right. But if the motivation of a common purpose which characterized the agreement in Paris last week can be maintained, the inherent frictions of European politics can be radically reduced.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

EUROPE LIKES IKE

Western European morale seems to have improved more in the last few months than in any comparable period since the start of the Cold War. It is now, in the spring, far less "the gray zone" of doubt and self-doubt that General Eisenhower found it early in the winter.

Eisenhower himself is one of the reasons for the change. It has appeared plain over here that the American people, including even the rank-and-file of the neo-isolationists, were ready to share with the European peoples "marching" confidence in the leadership of a commander whose record makes him the living denial of defeatism and the assurance of justly apportioned co-operation. The Americans seem willing not only to pool their resources in the common cause but also to underwrite practically the greater risks which the Europeans, because of their exposed situation, have to take. A third reason (paradoxical as it may seem) is the effective creation of what *Time* calls "US & Co."

When Eisenhower took over his job, his statements reflected the jargon of "the moral crusade." When he returned to Europe, with his job well in hand, he talked the plain language of American "self interest." This was, for most Europeans, a gratifying change. It explains why there is about as much approval for Eisenhower and for the main lines of American policy in Europe as there is disapproval of MacArthur and the napalm-moralism of American policy in Asia.

European morale is better precisely because there is real hope that Eisenhower can be successfully what Hemingway called him with contempt—a political general; that he can use the joint and common military power of US & Co. to deter the Soviets from making war (and also to discourage the preventive warriors on our own side). Although many of the European politicians may still resent the implications of their role as relatively minor members of the board, the European peoples recognize gladly that when the US is really in business (and not in a moral crusade), it really means business — and judging from its record, successful business.

The period of improvement in European morale coincides with (and in part results from) a change in American policy from containment of Communism to compression of Soviet power. *Time* was behind the European march of events when it said that "Washington will have to press the French into rearmament" and that "the United States will have to begin insisting that France get its Communist Party under control." Both processes are under way; and the real question now is whether to try to control the Communist Party not only in France but also in other Western European countries or, on the other hand, to try to capture some of the dynamic power of Communism and to use it in the broader process of seeking to compress Soviet power.

Support for the second of these courses comes from religious circles. At the conference in Bievres, near Paris, of representatives of some 160 million Protestants in all parts of the world—members of churches of 158 denominations in 43 nations—it was declared to be "an urgent Christian concern that armaments, whatever their necessity, do not dominate the whole life of national and international society." The formula that "every effort must be made to meet the basic challenge of totalitarian Communism by means other than war" was interpreted by many of the Protestant leaders to include driving a wedge between Communism in the service of Soviet power and Communism in the service of social justice, not necessarily Muscovite or Marxist.

A French scholar, Albert Guerard, now teaching at Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts, recently quoted John Foster Dulles as having said before a church audience "that we were not fighting Communism as a social conception." He added:

> If we had not been deluded by the word Communism, we might easily have retained the friendship of the Chinese people. . . . No one should be prosecuted as a Communist or Communist sympathizer, but only as a seditionist, or as the agent of a foreign imperialism.

Europeans, especially those who welcome keeping morality and expediency in the separate categories in which they belong, believe that the exploitation of Communist dynamism against Communist subservience to Soviet imperialism does not depend upon the creation of Titoist national communisms in Western Europe. On the contrary, it depends upon preventing Western Europe from becoming another kind of "gray zone" under the pressure of rearmament requirements, that is, an area in which the black of political reaction invades democratic development, especially in the economic and the social fields.

The notion of Western Europe as a third force is dead, and its demise is an element in the improvement of morale. But the countries of Western Europe, France in particular, are swinging steadily farther toward the Right. And unless the orientations of the other kind of Third Force—the effort to keep labor and the underprivileged from paying a disproportionately large price in sacrifices for rearmament — are preserved, a serious minus of morale will be created within each nation.

International expediency may make Generalissimo Franco and Marshal Tito part of US&Co., but good business practice, if not morality, should dictate that the socio-economic class relations within the European "Co." be modelled on those of the US. This is something that Eisenhower, with the best will in the world, cannot do. It is the task of the American people to make plain to Washington that mere "control" of the Communist Party in a country like France may be less than useless in keeping up the improvement of morale, unless it is accompanied by capture of the dynamism of social justice.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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NO, VIRGINIA, THERE IS NO SANTA CLAUS

by Bruce Bliven

ONE OF THE high points of that amazing first week of the Kefauver Committee hearings in New York was the testimony of Virginia Hill, whom no one will ever remember to call Mrs. Hans Hauser, although she is now married to a ski instructor at Sun Valley, and is the mother of a baby.

Virginia has been in and out of the headlines for many years; it was in a house in Beverly Hills, popularly supposed to have been hers, that the late Ben ("Bugsy") Siegel was blasted to death with shotgun fire coming through a window (she now denies that it was "her" house; Bugsy was paying the rent). Over the years, her name has also been linked with those of other gangland leaders. In the hot spots of New York, Miami and Las Vegas, where free spenders are plentiful, she stood out through her conspicuous carelessness with money. Yet not until she sat down at the witness table under the kleig lights and faced the Senators, did we get any conception of Virginia's life as she sees it.

She came to the hearing room trailing an aroma of rich living, of expensive beauty parlors and luxurious clothes. Eighteen years ago she was a pretty waitress in a restaurant at the Chicago World's Fair; now she looks as you might expect that waitress to look 18 years later, somewhat overfed, with a hard mouth and shrewd eyes beneath her waved chestnut hair. She wore her silver-blue mink stole and the big, black picture hat and talked freely of her life and good times. As a rule, she was polite and unemotional; she spoke distinctly, with a touch of an Alabama drawl, her attitude was a combination of the girl who has already been asked a lot of questions, under pressure, and of the ex-waitress who "has been kidded by experts."

When she first got to Chicago:

I worked for a while. Then the men I was around that gave me things were not gangsters or racketeers or whatever you call these other people. The only time I ever got anything from them was going out and having fun and maybe a few presents.

But these innocent days soon ended:

I happened to go with other fellows. And for years I have been going to Mexico. I went with fellows down there. And like a lot of girls that they got, giving me things and bought me everything I want.

Then Bugsy, whom she insisted on calling Ben, if not Mr. Siegel, came into her life.

And then when I was with Ben, he bought me everything. . . . He paid for everything, and he paid the down payment on the house in Florida and I don't know how much money it was. Maybe it was $30,000. I don't know. . . . I think [the house] cost $49,000. I don't know. You have the papers. And I paid part of it down; I don't know how much that was, even.

For a person so vague about money, Virginia has collected and dispersed an amazing amount of it. For years, in the meticulous fashion now current in the underworld, she has reported an income to the federal authorities—usually about $15,000 a year, and always made by horse-race bets, which she invariably won. She got her tips, she says, from friends of Bugsy, and the information was so reliable that one can only conclude the races upon which she bet must have been fixed.

After Mr. Siegel was killed I never was around anybody to get any more tips from. I never did anything any more. I never saw those people any more. I went to Mexico and I haven't done anything since.

Needless to say, Virginia's financial accounts don't add up. Bugsy was killed in June, 1947, and she admits spending money since then at the rate of $15,000 or $20,000 (or $35,000 or $40,000) a year. But for Virginia, the girl who pays for her drinks with five-dollar bills and scorns to take any change, even this is probably a gross understatement.

Q. How much money did you spend [in the early part of 1950, in Sun Valley, in six weeks]?

A. I don't know, but it was quite a lot. . . . Maybe it was $12,000 or maybe more.

But Virginia says this rate, of about $100,000 a year, was somewhat above her normal scale.

I was living extravagantly because I was planning to go back to Mexico to live.

Virginia got out of the night-club business on the advice of her friend, Joe Epstein of Chicago, a man whom she regards as a private banker, but one characterized by others as a betting man, who is currently hiding out from a Kefauver subpoena. For years, Virginia says, she has given him all her money and he has doled it out to her a few thousand at a time. He has also made out her income-tax returns. Naturally one meets one's banker in a saloon.

Q. Would you phone him at his home?

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A. No, I always called friends of mine and asked them to get in touch with him.

Q. Where would you suggest I find him if I want to reach him?

A. Well, I would call the Clover Bar and ask was he around.

This Virginia, like the famous little girl of the New York *Sun* editorial, lived in a Santa Claus world, one in which nobody ever did anything wrong. She claimed she knew few of the characters whose names the Committee flung at her. She knew nothing about anybody's illegal activities and never inquired about the sources of the thousand-dollar bills that rained down upon her. She showed a—doubtless healthy—disinterest in the person, or persons, who blasted Bugsy, through the window, as he sat with his partner Al Smiley on a davenport in that house on Linden Drive in Beverly Hills. All her male friends are perfect gentlemen. No impropriety of any kind touches the sunny blue serenity of her life, where $2,000 a week is only perhaps a little extravagant to spend at Sun Valley, where race-track bets always win and where it seems natural to blow in as much of your money as you conveniently can in a short time, because you are going to Mexico to live.

Other people, of course, take a different view of the men in her life. Competent observers report that much of her money came, indirectly, from nationwide operations in gambling, narcotics and compulsory prostitution. Some of the people whom she admits or denies knowing bought police officials, public prosecutors, even governors of states. She knew Joe Adonis and Frank Costello, charged with controlling much of the underworld throughout the country, men enjoying a veto power over the mayoralty of New York. Her friend Bugsy, an associate of Costello, was, at the time he was killed, the nominal owner of the Flamingo—an elaborate and expensive joint in Las Vegas, which was supposed to be losing money at a fantastic rate. Bugsy was in trouble with his backers, who included the Cleveland mob. It was in the Flamingo that Virginia had her famous fight with Bugsy which ended in her going abroad.

I had a big fight with him because I hit a girl in the Flamingo and he told me I wasn't a lady. We got in a big fight. I had been drinking, and I left and I went to Paris when I was mad.

Charley Binaggio, Kansas City gangster and politician, was shot to death in a political club; he was feuding at the time with some members of the Pendergast machine. It is believed that Binaggio was killed because he had promised important people that under the new Democratic Governor, Forrest Smith, the state would be opened up. Binaggio was connected with the Fischetti brothers of Chicago; they were members of the old Capone gang, and Joe Fischetti has been called the overlord of Chicago crime today. Virginia, in Chicago, once made almost daily telephone calls to Joe in Miami over a period of time.

Dandy Phil Kastel, whom Virginia knows, was Costello's Louisiana partner in a slot-machine racket and a member of the Huey Long gang. He was also a friend of John Maragon, White House hanger-on.

Virginia herself is believed to have been in hiding for fairly long periods in fear of her life.

How much of her story does she herself believe? It is hard to answer that question; one wishes, for instance, that we knew more about conditions in the home in Alabama from which she ran away at 17. The Kefauver Committee has been lied to by gangsters in city after city all over the United States, by sneering, contemptuous men who clearly feel that they are stronger than the US Government, whose "I don't remember" has become the hallmark of their effrontery. There are those who believe that Virginia knows as much as any of the procession of hoods who preceded her on the witness stand.

On this point, your guess is as good as mine. Gangsters have to be smart, or they don't live long, but this is not required of their girl friends. Even the smartest people, good or bad, have an amazing ability to rationalize their own behavior, to refuse to face ugly facts. It would not be surprising if Virginia really believed in much of the world she has painted for us. True, it was an easy-money world; but after all, she grew up in a country which sometimes seems wholly dedicated to the art of the fast buck. Like the rest of us, she has seen scandalous profiteering by big business, extortion exerted upon government by pressure groups, graft, favoritism, the spoils system reaching into extremely high places.

Yet one episode a few days ago does not fit the picture of Virginia as the fortunate girl who just happened to wander near the base of the big rock-candy mountain. On the witness stand she was the lucky friend of those lucky, lucky gentlemen; but once the courtroom door had closed behind her, she changed. The respectable face which she had turned to the Senators darkened and coarsened; she spouted sulphurous, unrepeatable language to the members of the press as she hit a girl reporter in the jaw, kicked a man in the shins. Escaping to a taxi, she leaned out the window to hurl what is now the standard witch's curse at the collective Fourth Estate: "I hope an atom bomb falls on you."

This was no Virginia who is willing to believe in Santa Claus. This was a girl who had been through a lot, who has earned her thousand-dollar bills the hard way. And knows it.

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GOVERNOR DEWEY vs NEW YORK

by Gus Tyler

THOMAS E. DEWEY may succeed General Marshall in the Defense Department or Harry Truman in the White House, but he cannot easily succeed himself as Governor of New York. The record he and his party have made in Albany this year has driven the Republican-minded AFL into close collaboration with the CIO and antagonized every liberal element in the Empire State.

The passage of a three-percent sales tax for New York City by the state legislature was the most widely publicized and hotly contested issue of the session. In fact, it is only one of a number of attacks upon the living standards of New Yorkers.

The sales tax, it is estimated, will cost the average New Yorker about $50 a year. In its original stages, it was set to sail through the legislature as part of an agreement between Gov. Thomas E. Dewey and Mayor Vincent Impellitteri. Later both Dewey and "Impy" sought to shift the responsibility, although the bill could not have finally become law without their joint support. Dewey sought to back out by announcing, a few days before its enactment, that he thought the sales tax a bad idea, but he was supporting it as a courtesy to New York City; he further indicated that the bill would not become law unless the New York City Democratic delegation in Albany voted overwhelmingly for it. Highly embarrassed, the New York City Democrats tried to run out by urging other methods of revenue: a payroll tax, to be paid by employers; a gross-receipts tax levied against business houses. These measures were voted down by the GOP in both houses, leaving the sales tax. This was finally passed with about two-thirds of the Democrats voting for the measure—a vote guaranteed by the GOPs withholding just enough votes to compel the NYC Democrats to support it almost en bloc. The act is a piece of enabling legislation for the New York City Council to boost the sales tax, the GOP-controlled state legislature made the basic decision on what kind of tax would be permissible, leaving the burden of public responsibility on Mayor Impellitteri and his Democratic City Council.

In the fight against the sales tax, the large department stores, under the lead of Bonwit Teller's Walter Hoving, spent thousands in newspaper ads. In later stages, "Impy's" political chief, Robert Blaikie, sounded off against the bill. Martin Lacey of the AFL joined the protest. Louis Hollander of the CIO used the original Dewey-Impy deal as a text for a sermon on the possible need for a new party in the state. The Liberal Party turned the issue into a mass protest movement. The ADA, the AVC and consumer outfits raised shouts of anger. Together these forces are now demanding a gubernatorial veto.

Although the sales tax raised the loudest outcry, its ultimate cost to the low-income family in New York probably will not be as great as the costs involved in new rental regulations that have been imposed. Under the scheme advanced by Joseph McGoldrick, a 15-percent voluntary increase is permitted; that means a 15-percent compulsory increase, especially in the case of tenants who cannot afford competent legal advice. In addition, the regulations allow landlords a minimum four percent on assessed valuation plus another two percent for amortization. Since a higher rental, based on assessed valuation, becomes the basis for a still higher evaluation, the new formula is a built-in system of rental inflation. In addition, the regulation allows "comparability" increases to landlords who can prove that "comparable" dwellings are getting higher rentals. Finally, the regulation allows rent increases if the normal number of persons living in a rental unit is increased: this means higher rentals for families where young, homeless couples move in with in-laws; it means higher rentals in overpopulated Harlem where Negro families are compelled to double-up and triple-up because of a housing shortage whose severity is sharpened by a none-too-subtle system of segregation.

In the long run, however, both the sales-tax and rent-control issues will probably take second place to amendments of the unemployment insurance just put through. The Hughes-Brees Amendments, passed in the very last hours of the session, threaten to create a united front of organized labor, unorganized workers and the small employers of the state against the Albany administration.

Employer opposition is based on the new merit-rating plan under which small employers will be financing the unemployment-insurance fund, while select large-scale employers contribute practically nothing. Proponents of the bill argue that a system of taxing employers with the highest percentage of unemployed among their labor force is an incentive for management to stabilize employment. Opponents of the plan maintain that an employer's ability to stabilize his payroll has far less to do with his personal decisions than with market conditions over which he has no control. In New York State,

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with its gigantic apparel, construction and fabricating industries, one such market condition is the weather. Yet unseasonal weather or a falling off of demand for a particular commodity or a lack of textiles for garment manufacture, if these result in greater joblessness, will serve to penalize the unfortunate employer by a higher tax rate.

The new formula—tying the tax to the number of benefits collected by the workers of a particular firm—hits the small employer in still another way. An employer of four people with one out of work has 25 percent of his working force collecting unemployment insurance. Hence his tax is high. An employer of 1,000 workers with 10 out of work has one percent of his force collecting benefits. Hence his tax is low. No wonder General Electric, General Motors, Standard Oil and the insurance companies, whose size guarantees large and stable employment in the coming years, were the most active sponsors of the new law.

A joint leaflet by the state CIO and the AFL—itself a significant political fact—states that this "formula insures that the largest corporations will pay the lowest taxes during good times—when they should be paying most—while the small employers will pay the highest taxes in bad times—when they can afford it least." As tax policy, the slogan is: Tax those least able to bear it. As insurance policy, this is the equivalent of requiring only the sick and dying to pay for their policies while exempting all the young and healthy. Bankruptcy is the danger implicit in such a cock-eyed actuarial principle. To meet it, the new law provides for an "emergency" tax of as much as one percent to fall alike on the unfortunate employers who have been paying a 2.7-percent tax on their payrolls and the select employers who have been paying nothing.

The uneven operation of the law is demonstrated in the redistribution of surplus funds from the central pool into separate company accounts. Of the $600 million so redistributed, 50,000 firms will be the beneficiaries; 125,000 firms will get little or nothing—although all 175,000 are contributors.

The small employer, threatened by a considerably higher tax rate if his workers collect unemployment benefits, now has a real incentive to disqualify his employees from collecting. He can do this in several ways. He will seek to dissuade the more ignorant and easily intimidated from applying for benefits. He will spread one week's work over two or three weeks to disqualify his employees from collecting benefits. Or, he can challenge a worker's claim to benefits with the hope that the prospect of long hearings will discourage a worker from following up the claim.

Under the new system, records will be so involved that many workers will not, themselves, know whether they are eligible, and employers will be in a position to exploit the uncertainty. Previously there was a uniform base-year on which benefits were calculated for all workers.

Under the new system, the base-year is the 52 weeks preceding the application for benefit. Each worker thereby has his own base-year, and to ascertain his right to qualify involves a separate check on his earnings over the previous year, a record that very few workers have in their own possession.

To be eligible, the new law requires a minimum of 20-weeks work in the base-year. It is estimated that this new requirement will disqualify some 15 percent of the workers now receiving benefits. The further regulation that the worker must have earned an average of $15 a week for these 20 weeks is expected to disqualify others, especially at some future time of industrial decline when falling employment will reduce both earnings and weeks worked.

The advocates of the law make one great positive claim for it: the top benefit is lifted from $26 to $30 a week. Critics of the law claim that this is mainly a "paper benefit" because the new method of calculating will lower all benefits paid and greatly reduce the number eligible for the maximum payment. Under the old law, benefits were calculated on the basis of earnings in the highest quarter in the base year. Under the new law, the benefits are calculated on the basis of *average* earnings, which "average" can include weeks when a worker may have earned as little as $15.

The standards of the Hughes-Brees law are so low and the administrative procedures so cumbersome and costly that Albany has been warned that the Empire State may disqualify itself entirely from the Federal Unemployment Insurance set-up. Technically, all employers pay a three-percent tax on their payroll to the federal government; it in turn, remits 2.7 percent to the states for their unemployment funds *PROVIDED* the state complies with the minimum standards of the federal law. New York State has set standards so low that it may not be entitled to the federal credit. Should this happen, the once progressive State of New York may find itself at the bottom of the roll in security legislation.

In the last days of debate on the unemployment-insurance changes, the GOP leadership in Albany feared that a half-dozen defections would defeat the amendments. So they caucused and made the measure a party one. In New York State, this means that the Governor has given the word.

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POLITICAL MURDER, INC.

by Helen Fuller

NINETEEN-FIFTY marked the organization of a new gang of assassins potentially far more sinister than the "Murder, Inc." mob that was exposed in 1940. "Murder, Inc." was revealed to be a nationwide band of assassins for hire whose business was disposing of gangsters who got in the way of other gangsters. The new gang which can be described as "Political Murder, Inc." is led by Col. Robert R. McCormick of Chicago, Sen. Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin, and Fulton Lewis Jr., the national radio commentator. Together, as their first job, they killed off a four-time US Senator from the state of Maryland last November and put an unknown man of their own in his place. From the testimony now being heard by a Senate subcommittee established to inquire into that election, it is possible to reconstruct how this little group of outsiders subverted the free election system in the Free State of Maryland. If there are men up for election or re-election in your state next year who are displeasing to McCormick, McCarthy and Lewis, this story has an important warning.

Millard Tydings, a wealthy and conservative Democrat from the rich Eastern Shore of Maryland, had served 24 years in the US Senate and survived even a personal attempt by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936 to purge him from office. His re-election to a fifth term in 1950 seemed to be assured until the Democratic Party selected Tydings as the man to conduct the Senate investigation of Joe McCarthy's charges of Communism in the State Department. In the Committee's hearings, Tydings' skill and astuteness—for which he had always been respected even by his liberal opponents—routed the attempted smearers of Owen Lattimore and Dorothy Kenyon, convinced most fair-minded observers of the falsity of McCarthy's accusations. This made Tydings an important target for the China lobby and the slanderers of Secretary of State Dean Acheson. The job of eliminating Tydings could not be left to the whim of Maryland voters. McCormick, McCarthy and Fulton Lewis personally took charge.

The first problem was that the Republican Party in Maryland had no organization and no candidate to enter against Tydings. Political Murder, Inc., had to start from scratch. The man they chose to make into a Senator was unknown. But his name—John Marshall Butler—had a good ring for politics; his appearance suggested clean-cut sincerity; he was related through his wife to the wealthy Abell family, major stockholders in the powerful Baltimore *Sun*. There was little else to recommend this small-time lawyer, and his manipulators wasted little time in trying to convince the public that there was. They concentrated on undermining Tydings.

The management of Butler's campaign could not be left to home-grown Maryland Republicans. Colonel McCormick's young niece, Bazy McCormick Miller, daughter of Ruth Hanna McCormick, grand-daughter of Mark Hanna and therefore a politician by blood, who had been installed a few months before as editor and publisher of the Colonel's Washington *Times Herald*, took the Butler race in hand. Many of the Colonel's stockholders had opposed entrusting the *Times Herald* to the 26-year old Bazy, but the Colonel had insisted and Mrs. Miller was out to prove herself a true McCormick. She summoned the Maryland Republican leaders and the candidate, Mr. Butler, to her office and told them what they should do. Mrs. Miller and her husband had headed the Dewey-Warren clubs in the Midwest in the 1948 campaign. In that operation, she had met a young Chicago go-getter in the public-relations business named Jon Jonkel. Jonkel, she told the Maryland Republicans, was what they needed. And the next day, as the result of a phone call and an airplane ticket supplied by Mrs. Miller, Jonkel was what they had.

The get-Tydings campaign was now firmly in McCormick-McCarthy hands. According to testimony before the Senate subcommittee investigating that election, Mr. Butler never saw the most important campaign literature until after it had been distributed nor heard high policy decisions until they were made. Important strategy was planned in Mrs. Miller's *Times Herald* office. Jonkel and Senator McCarthy met privately for dinners and went to fights, presumably to discuss the campaign. McCarthy also worked directly with Bazy. She testified that it was McCarthy who requested her to print the four-page tabloid entitled "From the Record" which, according to Senator Tydings' sworn testimony to the investigating committee, consisted of "faked and manufactured photographs and deliberately conceived, scurrilous lies." Bazy McCormick assigned her chief editorial writer to prepare the tabloid which McCarthy outlined, from material supplied by McCarthy's office. Her photographic staff rigged up, as a crowning decoration for the pamphlet, a "composite" picture purporting to show Tydings in intimate conversation with Communist Earl Browder. Mrs. Miller ordered her press to run off 500,000 copies of this little

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item and delivered them to Butler headquarters for a total charge of $1,414—"only about half the real cost," Senator Tydings told the Senate investigators, and "a convenient way for a corporation to kick in some unaccounted-for dollars to help spread its own lies."

McCarthy generously gave his own secretary, Jean Kerr, leave from his office to assist Jonkel in writing campaign literature and raising money. He also supplied a strong-arm squad from his office force to carry literature and money from Washington to Baltimore. Three McCarthy employees—Don Surine, ex-FBI man recently in the news for his part in the attempted Red smear of Assistant Secretary of Defense, Mrs. Anna Rosenberg; Ewell Moore and Ray Kiermas—and two of their friends, George Nilles and Rex Lee, have admitted playing this role. A Baltimore printer, William H. Fedder, charges that they were more than messenger boys however. Fedder has testified that Surine coerced and intimidated him in an all-night ride around Baltimore—in "Chicago gangster style," in Tydings' words—which ended with a threat from Surine of what would happen if Fedder did not relinquish a letter of guarantee signed by candidate Butler promising, in violation of the Maryland election laws, personally to make good $12,000 in printing costs: "He [Surine] told me that if I didn't give him the letter they would fix me up and put me through a McCarthy investigation. He bragged about being good at that sort of thing."

Surine and Moore both have told the Elections Subcommittee that Fedder's charges are "fantastic lies." Clearly, someone has lied to the investigating committee. Probably the Department of Justice will be asked to decide who should be charged with perjury.

But aside from the conflicting testimony as to whether storm-trooper tactics were used by McCarthy's men, there is no disagreement on what Fedder was supposed to do in the Butler campaign and how he got into it. McCarthy had the bright idea that Maryland voters would be impressed to receive an apparently personally hand-written postcard from the candidate himself, saying "I would greatly appreciate your support in the coming election." His staff had thousands of these written in Washington and carried them to Baltimore in their cars by night to be mailed from a Maryland post office. Fedder was employed through a telephone call from Kiermas in McCarthy's office to farm out the production of these "personally hand-written" postcards among Baltimore housewives at piece rates. The falling out between Fedder and the McCarthy henchmen was over remuneration for work done.

It was Fulton Lewis Jr. who sounded the hunting horn loudest of all through the Tydings Committee hearings on McCarthy's charge of Reds in the State Department. Night after night through the spring of 1950, the Lewis radio audience heard violent denunciation of Tydings' "whitewash" methods. As the squire of a Maryland estate near Washington, Lewis felt free to keep up the cry for Tydings' scalp all through the primary and the general election campaigns. His enthusiasm for the get-Tydings chase may have been heightened by the knowledge that his chief employer ardently approved. "One of the greatest indirect financial contributions to Butler's campaign was made by the Mutual Broadcasting Corporation," Senator Tydings charged before the investigating committee. "Nineteen percent of the stock of this broadcasting company is owned by Colonel McCormick's Chicago *Tribune*, which in turn owns the Washington *Times Herald*. . . . The so-called evening commentator of this corporation is Fulton Lewis Jr."

Former Senator Tydings has presented a full file of Lewis' broadcasts during the period of the Maryland election to the Senate investigating committee for study. Tydings' own summary of the contents of Lewis' talks, carried over five of the most important radio stations in the state, is that: "If Chairman Gabrielson of the Republican National Committee had been speaking himself, he could not have been half as partisan as Lewis was under the guise of a commentator over free stations. For inaccuracies in Lewis' statements, the record will speak for itself. . . . They are no more the words of a commentator than were the words of Goebbels when he spoke in Hitler's behalf. They are pure and unadulterated political tirades, which a child of 10 would know as such. . . . There was no more of the radio commentator characteristics about them than there are feathers on a whale."

When Lewis appeared before Chairman Mike Monroney (D., Okla.) and the Elections Subcommittee, he blandly insisted that there was nothing even slightly political in what he said over the air. The 26-page prepared statement which he entered in the committee record was designed to suggest that Tydings' complaint against Lewis "hardly reflects the operation of an ordered mind." Lewis sought to leave the impression with the committee that Tydings is suffering from delusions of persecution.

Both Bazy McCormick and Joe McCarthy helped provide the money to keep Jonkel's propaganda machine running full speed. Wherever McCarthy spoke during the fall campaign, he solicited funds for this very special putsch in Maryland. His secretary, Jean Kerr, invited Jonkel to her Washington home to talk to a Detroit businessman, Alvin Bentley, who contributed $5,000 to Butler the next day. Two wealthy oil men from Oklahoma

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and Texas contributed $20,000 and $10,000 respectively. Mrs. Miller supplemented Jonkel's $1,200 per month salary with personal loans. And, when Jonkel demanded help to organize the crucial colored vote, Bazy arranged for an "old family retainer" of the McCormicks, as she described him to the Senate investigating committee, "Colonel" Roscoe Conklin Simmons, a Negro Republican hack politician, to come from Chicago and stump Maryland. Hundreds of thousands of special pamphlets entitled "Back to Dixie" and carrying the names of Maryland Negro ministers as sponsors were spread in Simmons' wake. Tydings charges that Simmons "brazenly" used the names of these sponsors "without authorization." Mrs. Miller admitted in her testimony before the Senate committee that Simmons received his salary and expenses from the *Tribune-Times Herald* while he campaigned against Tydings.

Overlooking the not inconsiderable work done by those outside the immediate *Tribune* family, Col. McCormick, after the election, publicly bragged that "the Republican victory in Maryland was preponderently the work of the *Times Herald*, Bazy McCormick and Roscoe Simmons."

Those were the elements of the out-of-state organization which invaded Maryland in the last election. The line of attack, the slant of the propaganda, was patently "made in Chicago." Jonkel, proud of his hand in the Butler victory, expansively told a Washington *Post* reporter shortly after the election that when he went into Maryland "the thing that stood out like a sore nose" was that Senator Tydings "had not given the kind of answers to the charges against his conduct of the [State Department] hearings that would let people feel confident.

"Any propagandist would pick that up right away as a very fertile field to work in," Jonkel explained. "We then looked for other soft spots . . . dug into them and tunneled out in all directions. . . .

"Butler was smart enough never to argue; he always said that at one time Tydings was an excellent Senator, but what about right now? . . . Who can be sure? . . . and if you're not sure, let's not take a chance. All we had to do was offer Butler in exchange for a doubt!"

This was the basic strategy. But the Big Lie was used too. Tydings submits that the principal campaign document, the four-page tabloid entitled "From the Record" prepared and printed by the *Times Herald* from McCarthy-supplied material, "was a tissue of lies from beginning to end." This pamphlet which appeared in the closing days of the campaign, during the period when the Chinese Communists were entering Korea and our fear of defeat was at its height, carried as headlines: "Tydings Group Held Up Arms" . . . "Tydings Blamed for High Korean Casualties" . . . "Tydings Whitewash Committee Ordered [William Remington] Kept on Commerce Department Payroll."

Every member of the Senate knows that neither Tydings nor the Senate Armed Services Committee which he headed ever held up arms to Korea or to anywhere else—and could not have done so had they so desired. But the Butler propagandists presumably counted on people outside of Congress not knowing this—or the fact that Tydings' Committee had no relation whatsoever to the Remington case and was, in fact, without authority to inquire into the Commerce Department.

The publication "From the Record" and the broadcasts of Fulton Lewis Jr., Tydings charges, constitute criminal libel under Title 22 of the District of Columbia Code. Conviction under that statute is punishable by up to a $1,000 fine and imprisonment for five years.

"The four-page tabloid, 'From the Record,' was manufactured in the District of Columbia," Tydings' brief states. "According to admissions already published in the press, this was done, in part at least, under the auspices of Mr. Frank Smith, then connected with the *Times Herald* and now Administrative Assistant to Mr. Butler at $10,000 a year.

"It was printed on the presses of the *Times Herald* with the knowledge of Mrs. Bazy McCormick. According to the press, Mr. Jonkel . . . likewise assumes responsibility for its publication and dissemination.

"The broadcasts [of Fulton Lewis] were uttered and published in both oral and written forms in the District of Columbia."

The criminal libel provision of the D. C. Code, Tydings contends, "is clearly and completely applicable in my judgment to these acts and persons. . . . I express the hope that if this committee finds that the admissions made by the guilty parties, already published in the press, are accurate, and the facts I have submitted are true that the alleged guilty parties did prepare, publish, utter and distribute the defamatory statements and unadorned lies, that the committee will recommend criminal action, not only because such action is warranted but because it will be a powerful deterrent to the recurrence of such evil and despicable incidents in the future."

The indictment and trial of Mrs. Miller, Frank Smith, and Fulton Lewis Jr. might put "Political Murder, Inc." out of operation before it can repeat its Maryland job in other states in 1952. Indictment of these three now might mean more to the welfare of the country than did the prosecution of the gangsters of Murder, Inc. A Senator from Maryland is now beholden for his election not to the people of his state but to a small group which has no connection with the state. Unchecked, this cabal may well infiltrate all of American politics.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Bright-Yellow Journalism*

RECENTLY I received two interesting letters from unknown correspondents. One from Syracuse, New York, said: "You may be aware of the currently appearing series of articles in the Dallas, Texas, *Morning News,* St. Louis *Globe Democrat* and other such papers. It is one of the most nasty bits of yellow journalism I have seen in years. . . ." In the other, a resident of Dallas wrote: "I just can't help it to keep from writing you a few lines and tell you what a dirty newspaper can do to an honest man. I am sending you clippings from the Dallas *Morning News.*"

In this space last week, I told of the shameless lies that appeared in the paper mentioned for a considerable period under the by-line of Allen Duckworth, who seems to have no regard for newspaper ethics, loose as they sometimes are, when the publisher has some ulterior purpose to serve, or when the business office clamors in behalf of some profitable advertiser. It was natural that the Los Angeles *Times* should be printing the Duckworth inventions simultaneously with their appearance in the sheet that might more appropriately be named the "Dallas *Prevaricator.*" However, I had assumed that few of the more reputable papers of the country would expose themselves to the charge that they were willing to print allegations that even a copy boy of average intelligence would know, or at least suspect, were a not-too-skillfully woven web to catch the credulous, the prejudiced, or the ignorant. To my surprise a number of newspapers have been willing to accept and print the invention, "The Big Grab of Tidelands," by the versatile Mr. Duckworth without consulting their lawyers or without giving the person chiefly attacked, who happens to be the writer, a chance to point out its obvious untruths. As a matter of fact, I have answered, on other occasions, some of the misstatements that have been made into a Hungarian goulash by Mr. Duckworth and heavily sprinkled with cayenne pepper to stimulate the appetites of fellow Munchausens.

Among the items sent to me by my Dallas correspondent was an article that appeared in the *Morning News* on March 10. This hands "Ted Dealey, news president," an implied bouquet for inventing, or at least for printing, the Duckworth series. It appears that Mr. Dealey, himself apparently a patron of the fine art of lying, offered the "Big Grab" articles for simultaneous publication to some 24 newspapers. Who is paying the toll for such heavy traffic is not disclosed. Of course, the oil interests are liberal spenders, but one wishes to absolve even them of financing such a dirty business as this concoction of libertine lies and sleazy slanders directed against the public interest in defense of those who have trespassed upon offshore oil lands and extracted huge profits from them.

According to the sleeve-dealing Mr. Dealey, 24 papers were using all, or part of, the "Big Grab" series. Among these, he lists surprisingly, newspapers that have in the past been regarded as too reputable either to invent or to repeat falsehoods. I do not place the Los Angeles *Times* in this category, but I distinctly do so class such papers as the Kansas City *Star*, the Miami *Herald*, the Minneapolis *Star* and *Tribune*, the San Francisco *Chronicle*, the St. Louis *Globe Democrat*, the Atlanta *Journal*, the Baltimore *Sun*, the Nashville *Banner*, the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, the *Daily Oklahoman*, the Galveston *News* and the Phoenix *Republic* and *Gazette*, as well as others listed by Mr. Dealey. Of course, I do not know whether Mr. Dealey was telling the truth in involving these newspapers in the *Morning News'* unprincipled assault upon the Supreme Court and President Truman. Truth in one short, self-serving article is not to be presumed when, in the same paper, lies by the column have been appearing day after day.

Mr. Duckworth will probably feel ill at ease in such company, but I would like to introduce him to a few truths which his articles indicate that he has never met: (1) With the consent of President Roosevelt, Attorney General Biddle was preparing to file a suit against California to determine the title to its offshore oil lands. After Roosevelt's death, President Truman renewed the Presidential consent. (2) The Attorney General did not need the consent of Congress to bring the suit. He had the power to do this, subject only to the authority of the President. (3) Orders were not sent to the land commissioner in Los Angeles to act quickly on any oil- and gas-lease application. Instructions were sent to forward certain applications, as well as an itemized list of all applications. (4) The writer never suggested to anyone, friend or foe, that he file an application for a federal tidelands or other lease. (5) Prior to the California case, there were no Supreme Court decisions that "favored state control of offshore lands," let alone "53" such decisions. (6) The Supreme Court has said many times that the federal government has paramount rights and interests in, and to, offshore oil lands; coastline states have suffered no impairment of their offshore rights. (7) No inland waterway anywhere in the country is endangered.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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(Continued from page 4)

particularly like to rise to. Basil Davidson's defense, notably in view of his series on Spain and Germany, which I thought excellent (and which, incidentally, your esteemed competitor the *Nation* liked well enough to use). . . .

Mr. Strout refers to Critic's comments on the Gallup poll regarding American public opinion on US foreign policy, and says Critic seems amazed. I had not seen that Gallup poll and was amazed myself. Why should not anyone, here or abroad, who hears only the strident sounds emitted in Congress and our press, be amazed to learn that ordinary Americans seem to have attitudes not too different from the British?

LAURA HOYLE DAVIS
Bellerose, Long Island

SIR: R. L. Strout's piece criticizing the *NS&N* (*NR*, March 5) aroused warm approval from at least one reader.

Kingsley Martin, editor of the *NS&N*, has been publicly declaring in Britain that free speech has disappeared in the United States and making similar exaggerated statements. Behind the legitimate criticisms of many of the wrong things we do in the United States is the old school-tie superiority which will not go down easily. What is worse, the *NS&N* never bothers to correct misstatements made by its contributors. For example, they let Geoffrey Gorer (of the diaper explanation of history) make some surprisingly foolish statements about CCNY and Harry Overstreet, when Gorer was reviewing Overstreet's book.

MARK STARR
Educational Director, ILGWU
New York City

SIR: Only one point in your editorial seems to demand comment. Your description of Professor Cole as "a senior editor of the *NS&N*" implies a complete misunderstanding of British newspaper practice. We have no editorial board, only one editor. We publish signed articles of many shades of opinion, both Left and Right, and this journal's policy is expressed only in our unsigned editorial. Indeed where a staff contributor's article is signed it is a well understood implication that the signature is appended because the opinion expressed is personal, not editorial. Cole's article was a good example of this practice. It was signed because Cole expressed his individual viewpoint. He differed, for example, from strongly stated editorial views that North Korea committed aggression

On the general issue our criticism is levelled against certain aspects of US policy, not against Americans who outspokenly attack MacArthurism. I have before me now an article published in *Le Monde* (Paris) on March 10 by its Tokyo correspondent. He quotes apparently verbatim from the English edition of the Japanese paper *Mainichi* from an article by Robert Allen, said to be regarded as MacArthur's inspired spokesman. Allen is reported to state that "General invasion of China" is in full preparation and that Nationalist forces now in Formosa assisted by the US Navy under Admiral Hillekoetter will be used to establish "a second front." The first objective is sabotage in conjunction with the anti-Communist resistance movement in China to prepare a bridge for the landing of 300,000 men on the Chinese mainland.

Such reported intentions, with grave danger of world war, alarm Europeans perhaps more than Chinese. I am concerned to know whether American liberals dismiss such threats as purely psychological warfare. If not, are they prepared to join British liberals in refusing to acquiesce in any proposals to spread the Korean War?

KINGSLEY MARTIN
London

Mr. Martin's letter it seems to us does more than anything we could do to prove the correctness of Mr. Strout's contention that Mr. Martin has a vested interest in spreading critical interpretations of the US without even checking their accuracy or origin. Via *Mainichi* and *Le Monde*, a circuitous route which British readers can hardly retrace, Mr. Martin quotes Robert Allen, "said to be regarded as MacArthur's inspired spokesman," to to prove that the US is perfecting plans to invade China with 300,000 men. This unconfirmed story is presented as final evidence to Americans on which they must choose between joining Mr. Martin or spreading the Korean War.

The truth is, of course, that Robert Allen is a Washington journalist, and one of the bitterest opponents of MacArthur, and further that far from spreading the Korean War, General Ridgway, with the approval of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, has said that a halt at the 38th Parallel would be a victory for the UN and the US. – THE EDITORS

SIR: Congratulations on Richard L. Strout's salutary article on Kingsley Martin. Eminently fair, eminently witty and telling. A public service much to be welcomed.

HERBERT MAYNARD
San Francisco, California

SIR: I am grateful for Richard Strout's article on the *NS&N*. It has seemed to me for some time that the term "liberal" is dangerously misapplied to that magazine in its present editorial practise.

Mr. Kingsley Martin's reply makes it abundantly clear that his editorial policies have their origin in intense fear—a wholesome fear of war, linked with a profound distrust of American conduct in the event of hostilities. . . . Mr. Martin is certainly not alone with his apprehensions. A number of military experts are of the opinion that New York City and not London would be the prime target area for Russia's stockpile of atomic bombs. It seems worthy to face the prospects, whatever they may be, with a good deal more moral courage than Mr. Martin's journal currently shows. Broken pledges to the Korean people and the appeasement of an aggressive China might gain a respite, it is true, but let us not call the people who advocate such measures "liberals."

BASIL MITCHELL
Brooklyn

SIR: Let's state it simply and bluntly: the *NR*, along with a diminishing number of other more or less similar voices in the United States today, constitutes the "liberal" oasis in a reactionary desert. . . . It strikes me as being . . . strategically absurd to lower your sights for a single page from the much more serious dangers of the conservative coalition in this country simply to take a few pot shots at a British journal which is still more *with* you than *against* you.

The *NS&N* is both a socialist and a liberal weekly; some of your own readers do not find it a distasteful combination, particularly those who have moved beyond the liberal's customary preoccupation with political processes, two-party systems and civil rights . . . to a concern for the economic and social relations underlying modern industrial societies.

If American liberalism, as represented by the *NR*, can do no better today than make the much-too-surface alignment of political democracy with an economic base that has been called capitalist "undemocracy," then this brand of liberalism overlooks "deeper tendencies that are a very large part of the radical changes occurring in a revolutionary century. . . ."

JOHN H. BUNZEL
Berkeley, California

SIR: With every ounce of liberal strength needed at the front, I cannot understand your devoting space and effort to the recent rancourous attack on the *NS&N*. To compare anything with the Chicago *Tribune* is, for the NR, swinging low. To follow this by planting the suggestion that the party line possibly is being followed is too much. . . .

G. I. PATTERSON
Portola, California

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

SINCLAIR LEWIS: THE WORK OF A LIFETIME

by C. Hartley Grattan

SINCLAIR LEWIS' twenty-second and last novel will neither add to nor detract from his reputation. It contains many familiar ingredients, but it does not combine them in any original way. Looking down the long list of his productions, distributed over the years from 1914 to 1951, one cannot avoid noticing the unevenness of his performance. Lewis published five indifferent tries before he came up with *Main Street* (1920) and then within fifteen years produced all the books easily recalled, interspersing these hits with duds. After 1935 there was nothing vividly memorable. It was hard to see any evidence that the fires might once again burn brightly, but with a man like Lewis a final brush-off was risky.

WORLD SO WIDE, by Sinclair Lewis (Random House; $3).

Unlike so many writers whose work reaches an exceptionally high level and then slackens off, Lewis kept going. We know he had a novel outlined to follow *World So Wide*. What kept him at it? I think the answer is that Lewis was a born story-teller. When he had no memorable story to tell, he told one that wasn't memorable. The urge to tell some kind of story was so strong that it kept him always at work. In this he differed sharply from American writers of his day who were far more self-consciously artists and had far more to say, as the expression is. Lewis, with his unappeasable itch to tell stories and his conviction that the most important characteristic of a writer was the ability to apply the seat of the pants to the seat of a chair, went right along pouring out stories when a writer of a different cast of mind would have brooded and hesitated and struggled with thought and form. ~~As a story-teller Lewis traces back to his boyhood heroes, Wells and Bennett~~. He bears no relation to Henry ~~James and all that~~; and in this last novel he makes some painfully silly remarks about James, as if to prove the point. It was his bad luck to live on into an era when James became an object of worship.

Of course Lewis at his best was thought of as more than a story-teller, and that too gave him trouble later on. He was, for a while at least, considered to be a major critic of American life and there was a good deal of play with the notion that he was fundamentally a satirist. Lewis himself (in *Work of Art*) observed that satire is "one of those back-attic words into which is thrown everything for which no use can be found." Yet he was the man who put his finger with extraordinary accuracy on the weaknesses of very important (if only because they were suspected of being offensively numerous) citizens of the Republic. This was when he was doing what is generally considered to have been his best work. Yet the story-telling urge was functioning then; it was what carried the freight. It was only by an extraordinarily lucky conjunction of circumstances that he could combine story-telling with an assault on persons and institutions he had come intensely to dislike. Once this vein was exhausted, Lewis pretty much reverted to story-telling pure and simple. The critics were disappointed. They had mistaken their man, a not uncommon error among the professionally discerning.

It seems to me, moreover, that what many people came to think Lewis had said in his "good period" was rather different from what he did say in his books. Babbitt became a word of contempt—still is. Yet Lewis did not hate Babbitt; far from it. He looked on him compassionately, was immensely sorry for him, viewed him as a good but weak man fallen among the truly detestable, a man who knew very well that what he was doing was wrong and silly, but who, when he tried to do better, was mercilessly beaten down. Lewis' hatred was directed, not at Babbitt, but at Virgil Gunch (a generally forgotten but conspicuous figure in *Babbitt*) and his kind. Babbitt's enemies and masters are still with us when some of the Babbitts have changed their patter and their manners and become highly acceptable to those who think they dislike Babbitts. It is really Virgil Gunch whom they dislike and they have forgotten that Lewis pilloried him. Nor did Lewis, as the popular impression is, assert that America was uniquely the home of Babbitt, or Main Street either. His story had to be of particular individuals and places. His indictment was universal. In *Main Street*, right at the beginning of his "good period" he wrote:

> Doubtless all small towns, in all countries, in all ages, Carol admitted, have a tendency to be not only dull but mean, bitter, infested with curiosity. In France or Tibet quite as much as in Wyoming or Indiana these timidities are inherent in isolation.
>
> And why, she began to ask, did she rage at individuals? Not individuals but institutions are the enemies, and they most afflict the disciples who the most generously serve them. They insinuate their tyranny under a hundred guises and pompous names, such as Polite Society, the Family, the Church, Sound Business, the Party, the Country, the Superior White Race; and the only defense against them, Carol beheld, is unembittered laughter.

Lewis' great stock-in-trade as a critic was an inexhaustible capacity to see the worm in the apple. *That* he could see no matter what might surround the worm, whether it was a prairie village, a small city, McGurk Institute in New York, Fascism or Communism. Moreover, he could vividly describe the worm and illustrate its horrid character in electrifying detail. Yet he also knew, as so many men of shorter vision forget, that no crop of apples since the world began has been without its wormy speci-

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mens; he did not posit a world of wormless apples to set off the fruit he reported in such wonderful detail. The world, he said, has an "immense ability . . . to be casually cruel and proudly dull." He knew all about "the perpetual horror and cruelty of the world." He was sure that "the crust of learning and good manners and tolerance is so thin." These judgments have nothing—and yet everything—to do with particular persons, places and times temporarily selected for a thorough going-over.

Lewis' outstanding positive value, to which he gave firm allegiance and which he persistently set off against the somber world of his understanding, was a kind of nihilistic freedom, or freedom to be nihilistic about the restrictive, suffocating, respectable verities. His great American heroes were men who came before the time of respectability: Kit Carson was a spirit he often invoked; he does so once again in *World So Wide*. And, as one of his characters in this last novel reflects, "he thought well of American hospitals and streamlined trains and the reluctance of Democrats to behead all Republicans."

World So Wide is, as a last word, associatively reminiscent, somehow, of the famous last words of a great English politician: "Bring me one of Mr. Jones' veal pies." And here we have the pie Mr. Jones (Lewis) supplied. When it is opened we find that Lewis has put into it an American sick of building silly houses for silly people who tries to find peace, wisdom and dignity in a Europe dominated socially by Elsa Maxwell and the Hollywood-and-decayed-royalty set, but who nevertheless thinks he is finding them in study of the Renaissance in Florence and his love for a lady professor from Winnemac, only to have the worm in this particular apple pointed out to him by a red-headed American gamin—the kind of girl Lewis really loved all his life. So our friend marries the gamin and gets to hell off home via Suez and the East. Hardly profound; just Lewis telling a story.

C. Hartley Grattan began to contribute to the "New Republic" in 1924; he has written for numerous other magazines and has published books on American and Australian literature and politics.

WHAT THE RUSSIAN SEES

THE SOVIET IMAGE OF THE UNITED STATES: A STUDY IN DISTORTION, by Frederick C. Barghoorn (Harcourt, Brace; $4).

In April, 1947, the editor of *Party Life*, an organ of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, declared: "The propaganda of Marxist-Leninist theory which our Party tirelessly carries on . . . is always subordinated to the basic tasks confronting the Party at this or that historical stage." Since the end of the war America has pretty much dominated the Soviet historical stage and hence party propaganda has been largely subordinated to the task of depicting an image of our domestic and international policies consistent with the political aims and intentions of the Soviet leaders. How distorted that image has become is the subject of Professor Barghoorn's valuable study, which contains chapters dealing with Soviet attitudes toward America before World War II, during the war itself, and with anti-American propaganda since the war.

The argument will probably never cease as to when the distortion of the American image actually began in the Soviet Union. One school of thought argues that enmity toward the United States and a consequent false representation of our way of life have been implicit in the Soviet Marxian scheme of things from the beginning. Others assert that the Soviets maintained a suspicious but reasonably friendly attitude until the end of the war, when a change in the world balance of power resulted in a persistent and virulent anti-Americanism. Barghoorn, apparently convinced of the sheer opportunism of Soviet policy in any case, makes the most of both approaches by insisting that the leaders of the Kremlin use their propaganda, either friendly or hostile, as it best serves their ulterior aims in domestic and international politics.

The author brings to bear on his subject a rich mass of evidence culled from the Soviet press and from his own observations during more than four years of experience in the USSR (1942-47). He has some understandable difficulty in fixing the beginning of the recent Soviet anti-American policy. For he points out—though indicating many exceptions—the relatively favorable climate of opinion toward America over the war years and then says that the growing strain in relations between Roosevelt and Stalin intensified during the last months of the war. After the failure of the first London Conference of Foreign Ministers in September and October, 1945, he writes that "the Soviet propaganda line more and more identified American government policy with that of the reactionary forces."

There can be no doubt that Roosevelt's death in April, 1945, brought to an end a period of friendly collaboration, however much that amity was put to the test during the tensions of a war coalition. But there is some reason to suppose that the present Soviet policy was not finally determined until the enunciation of the Truman Doctrine in 1947. The difficulty in getting at the real truth of this whole sorry chapter of contemporary history is the lack of another book to place beside that of Barghoorn's — a book that could be called "The American Image of the Soviet Union: A Study in Distortion." Such a body of evidence, as fully and carefully researched as that of Barghoorn's, would no doubt provide logical explanations for some of the twists and turns of Soviet propaganda on America. In this connection one is mindful of the important information brought out in the last part of Robert Sherwood's *Roosevelt and Hopkins* and in the account of the second front in Churchill's *The Hinge of Fate*. History is not made in a vacuum nor—as we have discovered—is it a manifestation of human activity wholly preordained in the theories of Marx and Lenin. Stalin had to invent "creative Marxism" to prove to his propaganda experts all over again that men and women make history, that it sometimes gets beyond their intelligent control, and that there is a relation between cause and effect in its progress.

The connection between American actions and Soviet propaganda on America is not always perceived by Barghoorn. For example, despite his awareness of inordinate Soviet suspiciousness,

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he fails to see the implications of President Truman's Navy Day speech in 1945 in the Soviet propaganda reaction to it. The war was over. Germany and Japan were utterly defeated, yet the President laid down an arms budget of about $12 billion, spoke of our possession of the atomic bomb, and shortly thereafter the House Naval Affairs Committee passed a resolution advocating American acquisition of a number of bases in the Atlantic and Pacific. Barghoorn merely notes, with implied disapproval, that the Soviet press omitted the President's "assurances regarding the peaceful character of American policy, and his statement that American possession of the atomic bomb did not constitute a threat to any nation."

Whatever may have been the temporizing in the past, the Soviet propaganda of distortion nowadays presents to the world an image of America ugly and false in the extreme. In this deplorable situation one can only share, in a kind of community of hope, Barghoorn's belief that the Soviet people will continue "to offer psychological resistance to propaganda against an America whose power they respect and whose achievements symbolize many of their own aspirations."

ERNEST J. SIMMONS

Ernest J. Simmons, author of many books on Slavic Literature, is Executive Officer of the Department of Slavic Languages at Columbia University and professor of Russian Literature at its Research Institute.

MUSICIAN'S CLIMATE

OLD FRIENDS AND NEW MUSIC, by Nicolas Nabokov (Atlantic-Little, Brown; $3.50).

WHEN Nicolas Nabokov was a member of General McClure's staff in the United States Military Government in Berlin, a Russian general proposed that he should return to his native country, since "a man with your name and your intelligence should be wearing *our* uniform or should be teaching in one of *our* schools or *our* conservatories." Nabokov thanked him, but replied, "I prefer the climate of New York."

Old Friends and New Music is a personal and affable account of the stages through which a Russian-born musician passed as he gradually exorcised his childhood ties with pre-revolutionary Russia and came to prefer not only the New York climate but American citizenship and full participation in democratic living. The early years with a French governess and a Russian tutor, the monumental all-day picnics in the woods, prepared and served by a phalanx of servants, and the visits to the Maryinsky Theatre in St. Petersburg in the heyday of the ballet are persistent and colorful memories for Nabokov, but they are now reduced to purely anecdotal value for him. Of the Russia he knew nothing continues to exist except "competitive mushroom picking."

Along the way toward America, Nabokov formed close associations with such artists as Prokofiev, Stravinsky, Diaghilev and Koussevitzky, and his book is filled with revealing and sometimes hilarious memorabilia of these great folk. His sketch of Prokofiev, the central chapter in the book, goes farther than anything else in English toward explaining the enigmatic behavior of a first-rank artist whose instinctive patriotism led him to commit himself into the hands of a government that is hostile to free creative exploration.

Old Friends and New Music is a gracious and modest book. It is almost too modest, for in leaning over backward to keep his profile from obscuring the reader's view of the celebrated figures he evokes, Nabokov is overly reticent about himself. But he can always write another book about his own music and his musical convictions (Virgil Thomson calls him a "neo-romantic"). In the meantime he has provided one of the year's most attractive books on musical matters.

CECIL SMITH

ROOTS OF BIGOTRY

WITCH HUNT: THE REVIVAL OF HERESY, by Carey McWilliams (Little, Brown; $3.50).

MARIAN A. STARKEY'S *The Devil in Massachusetts* gave us some of the feeling of the witch hunt. Carey McWilliams' new book presents its thought content. His theme: "Witch hunts are a means by which in time of storm the belief in witches is exploited in order to control men's thoughts and to police their loyalties." His method: "We have reached far back into history's museum of social horrors to resurrect such instruments of persecution as the test oath and the inquisitorial tribunal."

Today all are familiar with and many are despondent over the so-called sedition and perjury prosecutions, loyalty oaths and investigations, newspaper and movie boycotts, political lockouts from jobs that mark this Age of Attainder. One wonders how another essay on the subject can rise above the obituary level.

Yet McWilliams has made a major contribution. He brings together in one volume many of the shifting scenes of today's drama: the attacks upon academic freedom at Roosevelt College and at the Universities of California and Washington; the stories of the Hollywood Ten, among others. These events are not left for examination in today's overheated laboratory conditions; McWilliams links them with the past: the Inquisition, the Alien and Sedition Acts, England at the time of the French Revolution, the Salem witchcraft trials. Many lessons are to be learned from this juxtaposition. Contrast Chancellor Hutchins' vigorous protection of his school with the cowardice of others in similar positions. Learn that "advocacy by force and violence" is a new doctrine in American history, evoked by the Haymarket Trials; that the Inquisition, also, protected its informers; that the attorney for heretics, even then, was guilty of "constructive heresy." McWilliams' repeated use of such terms as witchcraft, heresy and the devil is somewhat irritating; but their use is fundamentally correct: "The basis of heresy has always consisted in a challenge to the existing order."

It is appropriate to take note here of the unusual contributions made by McWilliams to the modern sociological field—I refer to his previous studies of the California agricultural worker, of anti-Semitism and of our treatment of Japanese Americans and other minorities. No one today equals his work in analyzing current problems of this kind.

LEONARD B. BOUDIN

Leonard B. Boudin, a New York labor lawyer, contributes to the "Harvard Law Review," the "Virginia Quarterly" and other periodicals.

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The Fine Arts: The Abstract Style

by Lincoln Kirstein

THE RECENT historical display of American abstract art at the Museum of Modern Art, with a generous allocation of native abstraction that was shown at the Metropolitan, summarized this style from a perspective of forty years. It appears now that it is a "late" style, a residual mannerism. A late style dilutes earlier, more urgent symbols into decorative iteration. Our abstract style has become academic, rigidly classified for teaching purposes; it has taken as its end a repertory of the means of surface treatment. These means, meager or florid, are juggled with sophistication, re-edited from the formulas for rendering spatial relations, evocative form and emotional color that gifted innovators discovered a generation ago. The style's present success derives from its ostensible correspondence to the confusions and anxieties of a disorderly epoch, confusions and anxieties which are expressed graphically in terms appropriated from anthropology, psychology and more exact sciences. It makes decorative use of scientific insights—denying the camera eye, but borrowing from microscope and telescope, as if astro-physics and biology were less concrete than the structure of familiar faces or sites.

With abstract art available in such impatient variety, it becomes clear that the pictures themselves are rarely abstract, non-objective or non-representational. They are expressionist pictures, recording anecdotes of individual anxiety. Fragments of the retinal world almost always are recalled, and even when they are denied or transformed toward a more absolute geometry or reckless calligraphy, the paint tends fatally to regroup itself into memories of some experienced shape.

Our public has been inured to innovation; what might have seemed mere incompetence is accepted as valid experiment. Besides, many of the artists included in these two shows are remembered as exponents of the social realism of a decade ago. The social realists lost heart with the failure of a Marxist absolute. Salvation is now sought in the personal and lyric psyche, supported by well-documented recipes of the technical martyrs of several styles since Cubism. Just as the anecdotal compassion of social realism was one step from caricature and self-pity, so most of the abstractionists, even though licensed by abject homage to Kandinsky, Klee and Mondrian, end in being case-histories of exhausted self-indulgence. They hope that an energetic private confusion can somehow be generalized into an affirmation of the public neurosis.

Once T. S. Eliot composed some heroic couplets in the style of Pope. He sent them to Pound, who replied that either the verses were superior to Pope, which was unlikely; the equivalent, which was impossible; or inferior. Eliot destroyed his couplets, but few abstract painters have friends as cruel or kind as Pound. For art critics today we are given icy historiographers: they are greedy for any phenomena that they can relate to society, history or personality, but, like good soldiers professionally divorcing themselves from politics, they refuse to commit themselves as to competence or quality. When one walked through the third floor of the Museum of Modern Art one had for corrective reference the living sources of the abstract style in the permanent collection on the floor below. There still, after almost half a century, is the frank, springtime burst of Kandinsky, Klee's self-effacing, ironic elegance, Mondrian's thin but decent order. We judged the show of American derivatives as if we were asked to mark term-papers; everything is assimilated, little added, save overweening size and blind self-assurance. Do these artists feel superior or equivalent to their acknowledged masters, and if different, how do they measure the difference?

The sculpture is more plastic, even more graphic than the paintings, which are treated with so puritanical a regard for the picture-planes that it is difficult to pierce the surface. Many of the sculptured forms derive from a limited vocabulary of modernoid shapes expressed in paint first, now projected in three dimensions. But, like the pictures, they are rarely unified visions made concrete, but rather decorative objects, *objets d'art*, impelled by a rather pathetic ostentation, since architecture no longer requires the service of sculpture and modern dwelling units are small. The sculpture is dead, compared to any of Brancusi's absolutely realized monolithic essences: the more "pure" from mechanic rigidity; the more "impure" or expressionist from an obsessive repetition of a few modish shapes. In the bazaar of personality each variant can be typed, like blood, yet the over-all impression is complacent uniformity. The final rooms at the Metropolitan looked like a one-man show.

Photography supposedly destroyed representational art, but, after a century of the camera and all it has taught us of candor, accident or texture, we find it neither a substitute for the human eye, nor capable of very intense synthesis. Photography is a useful extension of graphics. The abstract style has not replaced representational art; the show at the Museum of Modern Art, like others there before, must serve more as epitaph than accolade.

ON THE AIR

The Big Show

FOR A PERIOD of some ten days last month, television was telling its biggest story to date. There has been World Series baseball, there have been angry debates at Lake Success, but nothing has so captured the imagination of the public as the Senate Crime Investigating Committee hearings in New York. Until five minutes before starting this column, I sat most of the afternoon and into the night at my TV set, fascinated beyond words. When 5:30 came, and NBC-TV bumped "Howdy Doody" off the air so that my program might not be interrupted, I was genuinely grateful. At eight, I switched to Du Mont. Even this network didn't let me down; it canceled wrestling for two hours and thirty-five minutes of solid, uninterrupted, unsponsored public service.

Kefauver and his colleagues had been

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barnstorming for some time, and there were telecasts in other cities. But the smart Senator from Tennessee reserved New York for the next-to-closing act—in the best tradition of vaudeville. New York didn't disappoint him. In a category by himself, of course, there was former Mayor O'Dwyer. Then there was the parade of the fortune soldiers: Frank Costello, Virginia Hill, Joe Adonis, Frank Erickson, the Anastasia brothers—Anthony and Albert—who were suspected of being tied in with waterfront activities, finking, and Murder, Inc. All the time, the TV cameras were right there in the courtroom. Men were sneaking out of their offices to the nearest bar or electrical-appliance store to look; women were letting the dishes stand in the sink; broadcasters were entering refunds to sponsors in their ledgers so that this stupendous show could go on uninterrupted. We were being informed, educated, taken right down the broad highway of civic virtue to see sin exposed, bad men pilloried, and the few righteous men before the image orthicons assume the shape of angels.

Yet all through this marathon I was frightened and in conflict. Late one afternoon, when Frank Costello came back for his third—or maybe it was his fourth—appearance, even his hands could not be televised; the cameras were ordered to stay away from the witness table altogether. But the director of the camera crew noted at one time that, in the bright courtroom lights, Costello's shadow showed. The lens picked up that shadow, but the shadow that I cannot make out is of the future of all public hearings—of all courts, in fact. I wonder whether we may not through television get into the habit of holding court in public arenas.

This time the witnesses being quizzed are men on whom no one need waste sympathy, and all through these hearings care had been taken to avoid smearing tactics and persecution. Surface courtesies were observed, counsel was permitted to sit next to and confer with the witness, the amenities of decent courtroom procedure were being carefully observed. But what if a Hickenlooper or McCarthy should preside, instead of a Kefauver? What if the issues were ideological, instead of political or criminal?

Professional Congressional investigators will soon get wise to all the techniques of the televised public-hearing room. But the witnesses, who may too often be unindicted defendants, may be camera-shy, scared, made nervous by the knowledge that they are being accused—perhaps unfairly—before ten or fifteen million pairs of eyes and ears. Shall we arrive at truth and justice more readily by holding our trials in Yankee Stadium? For that is what television—added to the crowded press benches, the radio microphones, the flash bulbs of the cameramen—is doing.

How public should a public hearing be? Haven't we got ourselves into some sort of tangle by allowing them to become circuses? The courtroom where the Kefauver hearings are being held was built for calm deliberation. The wood paneling, the shaded lights are not mere decorations; they are part of the necessary courtroom atmosphere. Is such an atmosphere possible when we let ourselves be carried away by one electronic gadget after another to the point where a witness must feel that his every gesture, breath, sneeze or hesitation may be interpreted as a sign of guilt?

What shall we do then? Shall we bar the television cameras? Why discriminate against this latest and greatest of our mass-communications media? Once we shut the door to one medium, why not go all the way—lock out the radio and newspaper reporters and the public too, and go back to star-chamber procedures? Or is there a middle way between secret rooms and Madison Square Garden? Is there a way to trust the good sense of our citizens to practise democracy on a mass scale—and at the same time protect the innocent, make it easier for the honest man to defend himself? I don't know the answers. But I do know that television, while doing a colossal job on the Kefauver hearings, has also raised some frightening possibilities.

SAUL CARSON

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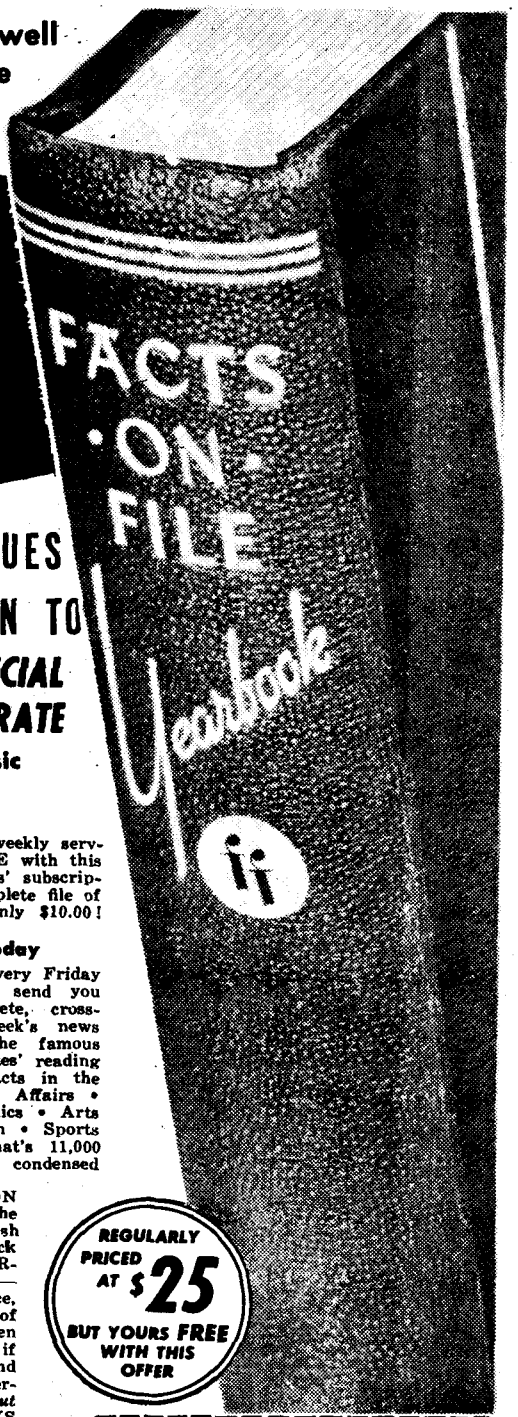

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